

THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. IV.—NO. 5.

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1850.

WHOLE NO. 161.

The National Era is Published Weekly, on Saturday, opposite Odd Fellows' Hall.

TERMS.

Two dollars per annum, payable in advance. Advertising not exceeding ten lines inserted three times for one dollar; every subsequent insertion twenty-five cents.

All communications to the *Era*, whether on business of the paper or for publication, should be addressed to G. BAILEY, Washington, D. C.

BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 28, 1850.

For the National Era.

VIRGINIA.

By S. M. JANNEY.

I have sometimes thought that our good old Commonwealth might be aptly compared to that renowned spinster whom the English are wont to call the good Queen Bess; and from whose maid only condition the name of Virginia was derived. Although rather pugnacious by nature, and especially severe towards those who meddled with her domestic relations, she had many great and excellent qualities, and was famed for her political capacity.

She had, however, one weakness: when somewhat advanced in life, she fancied that she still possessed the grace of her youth, and delighted in receiving the grossest flattery. For twenty years previous to her death, she refused to look into a mirror, and when suffering with a disease in her extremities that made it painful to stand, she danced with the French ambassador, in order that he might report to his master the grace and power, and she starts forward in a career of unexampled prosperity.

Virginia has so long listened to the voice of adulation—it has been so customary to call her "the mother of statesmen and of heroes," to advert to the period of her greatest renown, when she stood preeminent among her sister States—that it now requires some courage to hold up a true looking-glass before her, or to point out the symptoms of a disease that impairs her beauty and hastens her decay. It is, however, some consolation to believe that her case is not yet desperate, and that there are many true patriots in the State who have the discernment to perceive and the candor to acknowledge the causes that paralyze her energies and impede her progress. In the eloquent address of Governor McDowell at the opening of the Education Convention at Richmond, he observed that—

"We were satisfied with the shadows of the past, with the crumbling monuments of our renown. We are deceived by the fascinating allurements around us, and are led to forget the arduous labor and important duties of life, until nought remains but our children and our story. Like the prisoner in his cell, amid solitude and gloom, we console ourselves with the presence of our shadow."

It is not time to arouse ourselves from this dreaming lethargy, to awake to a sense of our actual condition, and to endeavor to investigate the causes that have brought down our beloved State from the proud preeminence—which has placed in the fourth rank among the States, and must soon reduce her to the fifth in the Union.

For some years past, the Richmond papers have teemed with earnest and able appeals to the people of Virginia, in order to induce an effort to develop her great natural resources. It seems to be admitted on all hands that the eastern part of our State has, for twenty years past, been retrograding in population and wealth, and that a deplorable amount of ignorance exists, even among our white population. In order to arrest the course of decay, and revive our declining fortunes, we have been urged by every consideration of interest and patriotism to attempt the establishment of manufacturers, the construction of railroads and canals, and the adoption of a good system of general education. We have been referred to the example of the Northern States, and especially to Massachusetts and New York, to show that manufactures and internal improvements must enrich us, and that a good system of common schools will effectually enlighten. But none of these writers, in order to hold up the Jeffersonian Phœnix in the eyes of the public, and of their descendants dead, have touched upon the subject of the educational labor and important duties of life, until nought remains but our children and our story. Like the prisoner in his cell, amid solitude and gloom, we console ourselves with the presence of our shadow."

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It is not seldom the case that while the world is paying its supposed debt of praise to the prominent and direct instruments of some great reform—the abolition of the slave trade, the reducing of complicated and highly restrictive tariffs, the positive enactments that shall do good for the masses, and the negative enactments that destroy what has done and would continue to do harm—while, we say, the world, after long struggling against the heresies of Reform, at last wears round, (a by no means uncommon occurrence,) and applauds the men who are in at the death of abuse, or at the birth of improvement; a far-sighted and more exquisitely judgment would leave all who receive this applause, and rest smilingly upon some one or two comparatively obscure persons, or, perhaps, upon some poverty-marked dwelling, or some unnoticed grave. The men that first rose above precedent, and thought in defiance of social or political organization, always have had a hard task. Luckily, men of such powers are almost invariably enthusiasts, who fly high above the heads of the crowd.

But why should this mysterious silence be observed in relation to a question of such vast importance as the existence of slavery in Virginia—a question that the events of every day force upon our attention, and which, must, be long, claim our consideration, and be openly discussed among us?

It is well remembered by us all, that in the Legislature of Virginia, during the winter of 1832, this question was fully and ably discussed with open doors; the evils of domestic slavery, in its effects upon both the master and the slave, upon private interests and public resources, upon wealth and upon morals, were disclosed in many speeches of surpassing power and eloquence.

Among the speakers we remember the honored names of Rives, McDowell, Faulkner, Moore, Brodman, Marshall, Randolph, and Summers, who depicted in glowing terms the blighting effects of this institution, and urged the necessity of measures being taken to effect its gradual but certain extinction. In the course of this discussion, the question of the slaves in the South, from the publication of those speeches in the newspapers and in pamphlet form, or from the many conversations that were everywhere held concerning it? None whatever. People slept as securely in their beds, walked as safely through the streets, and rambled as freely through the woods, as though no such discussion was going forward.

The slaves in Virginia are not more numerous now than they were then; the country is in a state of peace, the tumult of political strife is somewhat abated, and this, perhaps, is as favorable a time to take up the examination of the subject as any that is likely to occur. It is obvious that no important measures could be adopted under a representative government without a public discussion; for information must be disseminated among the people, and they must have their attention turned to the consideration of the measures proposed, before their representatives can be prepared to act with decision, and carry out their wishes.

It is to be regretted that this question has been permitted by the people of Virginia to remain so long undetermined, for it is well known that her revolutionary patriots were very generally in favor of their taking measures to put an end to slavery.

A plan was proposed by Judge Tucker in 1776; and in his letter to him he says: "Should we not, in the view of our Revolution, have broken those chains and broken their fetters?" if, or the difficulty and dangers of such an experiment prohibited the attempt during the convulsions of a revolution, is not our duty to embrace the first moment of constitutional authority and vigor to effectuate so desirable an object, and to remove from us a stigma with which our enemies will never fail to upbraid us, nor our consciences to reproach us?"

This was also a favorite measure with Jefferson, and continued to be an object of intense interest to the end of his life.

How happy had it been for him, what a charm it would have cast over the evening of his eventful life, could it not have been this great measure consummated, or even begun, before he was called away by death, and required to take a final leave of Virginia, the object of his warmest affection!

His plan of emancipation was presented by his grandson in the memorable debate of 1832; but although eloquently supported, it was defeated by a small majority, and since that day the agitation of the subject has not been renewed in the Legislature.

Is it not obvious that the prosperity of the State would have been greatly promoted if some judicious plan of emancipation had then been adopted? More than seventeen years have since

elapsed, and, if even the most gradual plan had then been determined on, we should now feel its effects, by a new impulse being given to industry in every field of labor.

Instead of our enterprising young men leaving the State to seek their fortunes in the West, we should witness a crowd of immigrants arriving from other States—the waste places of Old Virginia, impoverished by slave labor, would be filled up and renovated by the skill and labor of the free real estate would rapidly rise in value—commerce would grow, and our water power would be improved—our hidden stores of mineral wealth developed—and, what is more than this, the immeasurable intellectual wealth that lies hidden in the minds of the young would be brought to light by a system of general education.

Who would not be willing to make some sacrifices to promote these desirable results?

What a field of labor is here to call forth the sympathies of the benevolent, and to excite the energies of aspiring minds?

Virginians are proverbial for their strong attachment to their native State, and in every town and city. Cannot this irrepressible feeling, which is the writer of this article shares with the rest of her fellow citizens, be turned into a useful channel, by directing our attention calmly and carefully to consider what it is that obstructs the progress of our native State, and then with united efforts endeavor to work out the cure by such means as Divine Providence has placed in our power? There is one consideration that should encourage us. It is this: Every sincere and well-considered effort that is made for the good of our fellow-men, even if not successful at first, will improve the individual character; for man grows by action, his powers are developed by exertion, and the more he achieves, the more he can do. Let us, then, in like manner, a Southern community that is afflicted and borne down by some great burden, if by a powerful effort that burden is removed, she finds herself in possession of energies that she knew not of, she rises with unwonted majesty and power, and she starts forward in a career of unexampled prosperity.

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merry sounds, happy surroundings, were suddenly in discord with her—jarring, grating, torturing her nerves. She did not think, she only felt. It is at a long distance that one can look back and analyze emotion—rapture upon feeling. Instinctively and mechanically she closed the window shutters of her room, laid down upon her bed, and doubled the pillow around her head, and in the deep darkness and profound silence of her chamber, her whole consciousness of loss merged into one absorbing sense of loss. The alarm of a thief's knock had not aroused her. Half an hour after it sounded, a soft hand laid upon her hand that clasped the pillow over her ears, a soft voice murmuring close by her side caused her to put aside the smothering pillow, and look up. Her maid Anna, who had attended her to Mont Crystal, was standing by her side, now looking with sad surprise at the disordered dress, disheveled hair, and pale face of her mistress.

"You are ill, Miss Susan," said she, taking her hand, and looking with earnest affection at her fallen features.

"No, Anna," replied Miss Somerville, rising upon her elbow. Anna looked at her keenly, and said, "I am very ill, and have given every pain, she hurriedly, earnestly added:

"Have you heard from the Crags? Has any thing happened there, Miss Susan?"

"No, Anna, nothing. And now, Anna, do not question me further. Don't look distressed, Anna; I am not displeased with you, my dear Anna—and I—but I am very, very tired of everything, and almost of everybody!" And Susan Somerville slowly arose, gathered up her long hair in her hands, let it fall again heavily with a deep sigh, and finally resigned herself into Anna's hands, to have her toilet rearranged for breakfast. Immediately after breakfast, Susan Somerville intimated to her girl friend her desire to leave the house; and, receiving his consent to the proposal, announced to her hostess their intention of returning to the Crags.

Through the delay of Major Somerville, their departure was deferred till dinner, so that it was nightfall before they found themselves ascending the rocky acclivity leading to the Crags, and it was pitch dark when they alighted at the door. Susan went at once to her room, to change her dress; and Anna, after helping her aged master to dismember himself of his great coat and leggings, and after handing him his dressing-gown and slippers, and settling him in his dining chair, went out into the kitchen, and taking his mother aside, said,

"Mother, Miss Susan is very unhappy about something. Some sudden grief has fallen upon her. Mother, what is it, and what can we do to relieve her? Miss Susan is wretched! Indeed she is!"

"Anna, perhaps she has discovered the ruin that threatens us every hour!"

"No, indeed she has not; far wide of it. She knows her father is in debt, at the mercy of his creditors; but she does not know how near, how imminent, how inevitable, our ruin is. No, thank God! she does not yet know; for even when I forgot to guard myself, when I manifest anxiety or grief, the dear girl ascribes it to my condition, as if she could realize it in her gentle service! She thinks me a man of wealth and means. She does not know me, No, mother! some other deeper sorrow preys upon Miss Somerville's mind; and it is you, mother, who must tell me how to comfort her; for you have lived long, and know everything—I know nothing."

Harriet was kneading dough. She paused in her occupation, and seemed to reflect; then she asked—

"Is Mr. Stuart-Gordon at Mont Crystal?"

"Yes."

"Was he attentive to Miss Susan?"

"Yes."

"What do they say about him there?"

"That he has long been engaged to Miss Armstrong, and that the marriage party is in honor of their nuptials betrothed."

"I feared so! Miss Somerville needed a mother to watch over her. After all, a nurse—one in my position—cannot meet every want in a young lady's daily life. But now, listen, Anna. We must keep our young lady quiet, comfortable, and occupied. Subdue everything to soothe her excited nerves. Let no sunlight into her room. Do not let the fire blaze too brightly—keep all loud noises far from her—Temper your own services for her, so that they do not become obtrusive. And now go and set the table, and make all things comfortable, my child!"

The woman who said this advice was no common converser among us. The reader need not be surprised at this. Delicate perception of character and emotion, and in adaptation and manifestation of sympathy, is the result of cultivated affections rather than of educated intellect. And Harriet possessed the first in a large degree.

The Christmas party lasted a fortnight at Mont Crystal. At the end of that time, Louis Stuart-Gordon and Louise Hector Armstrong were affianced. Upon the strength of the new relations, Mrs. Armstrong was induced to accept the earnest invitation extended by General Stuart-Gordon to herself, Miss Armstrong, and Miss O'Riley, to pass the winter at the Castle of Rye. There, in the family of Mont Crystal, the young couple was staying at the island palace, that the marriage day of the youthful couple was fixed for the twenty-second of the next month, February, the anniversary of their birth, when Louis would complete his eighteenth, and Louise her sixteenth year.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

FROM WISCONSIN.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, January 9, 1850.

To the Editor of the National Era :

Dear Sir: The Wisconsin Legislature convened to-day at the Capitol, and adjourned. By the unanimous vote of the Senate, Mr. Galusha of Winona, and Mr. Willard of Eau Claire, the two Free Democratic Senators, voted with the Democrats in Senatorial caucus last evening, when Gen. William R. Smith was re-nominated Chief Clerk, and Mr. James Hawrsham, Sergeant-at-Arms.

The Senate, to-day, elected Mr. Smith and Mr. Hawrsham by a unanimous vote—Whigs voting with the Democrats.

The Democratic and Free Democratic members of the Assembly, under a call for all those in favor of the resolutions of the Democratic State Convention, (which are strictly Free Soil,) met this morning, at ten o'clock A. M., in the Assembly Hall, and resolved, Moses M. Strong, of Lower Fox River, Speaker, and Mr. Gray, of Rock county, for Chief Clerk. At the meeting of the Assembly, both of these gentlemen were elected by the joint vote of the Democrats and Free-Southerners.

You will recall that this same Mr. Strong made a speech at a Free Soil meeting at this place, one year ago, in which he stated that the time had at length arrived which he had for ten years been striving to stave off, when this question must be met; and he was then ready to say, "No more Slave States—no more Slave Territory—no further extension of Slavery—the abolition of Slavery wherever Congress has the constitutional power." Mr. Strong's speech, at the time, was powerful, and produced a happy effect.

After the organization and receipt of a communication from the Governor, that his message will be forthcoming to-morrow, the two Houses adjourned over.

JANUARY 10.

The Senate and Assembly met pursuant to adjournment, and the Governor's message presented and read, a copy of which I send you. The portion in relation to slavery is on the last page. He recommends that our determination to resist the extension of slavery be again reiterated.

The appointment of the Committees on Territories, the Judiciary, Foreign Relations, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, and District of Columbia, in the United States Senate, by which a majority are given South, according to time-curved usage, meets with the low curse of all.

The action of the Free Democratic members of the House are duly approved. Yours, &c., WISCONSIN.

MEMORIAL OF JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Hon. D. S. Dickinson presented the Senate, on the 8th instant, the following memorial, which was referred to the Committee of Claims:

To the honorable the Senate of the United States:

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned, a citizen of the fourth congressional district in the State of New York, does hereby most respectfully pray your honorable body to investigate the following charge:

THREE-TENING MR. CLAY.—A man was overheard in the Senate gallery on Thursday to express his determination to take the life of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, who was below in the chamber; whereupon he was promptly arrested by the officers and taken to the Capitol watch-room, and an investigation of the matter was had before Justice Goddard, captain of the auxiliary guard. The Sergeant-at-Arms, one of the messengers of the Senate, testified to the hearing of the committee that the arrested man "killed Mr. Clay." He was therefore committed to the custody of the jailor for safe keeping for the present. We learn that his name is John Robertson of Baltimore, where he is well known as a harmless, inoffensive person, and that he is evidently laboring under a partial insanity. Robertson is a

man of low stature, and is apparently about thirty-five years old?—Repub.

And set your seal of disapprobation on the arrest and imprisonment of the petitioner in the Washington county jail for fourteen days, five hours, and twenty-five minutes; for I solemnly declare before God that I am in the galleries of the Senate, the day referred to, and never in my life uttered such a statement that could lead any physical injury to Mr. Clay, or any person or persons in or out of your honorable body. I therefore pray your honorable body to take the case up, and examine the parties concerned, and then make me such compensation as you may deem just and equitable under the circumstances of the case, which has not a parallel in any case reported, as far as my judgment will go in a matter of this kind.

And for the peace, health, and happiness of your honorable body, I will ever pray to that God who has said, "I will in nowise acquit the guilty?"

JAMES ROBERTSON.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 31, 1850.

to expect, they can console themselves with the reflection that it will endure but for a few months. Should they attempt a change, or amend it during this brief period, they most probably could not accomplish their object without great difficulty.

In the mean time, the country would be agitated, the citizens would be withdrawn from their usual employments, and domestic strife might divide and exasperate the People against each other; and this all to establish a Government which, in no conceivable contingency, could endure for a single year?

October 9th, Mr. MARCY, Secretary of War, writing to Colonel R. B. Mason, commanding the United States forces in California, repeats and fully endorses the views of Mr. Buchanan, and adds:

"In the mean time, it will be the duty of the commander of a military force to recognize the present Government de facto; to respect the officers of it, and to lend the aid of the military power to protect the rights of persons and property of the inhabitants of the Territory. Though he has not the right to change or modify the existing civil Government, it will be his duty to regard it as an existing Government, until it is changed by competent authority?"

On the 13th of April, 1849, General Mason was relieved of his command by General Riley, who proceeded to carry out the policy of the Administration. He recognized the existing Government, the Government de facto—in other words precisely that form and machinery of Government that had been established by Mexico, and came into operation the moment peace was declared. As by this Government the commander of the military forces in California was also civil Governor, he felt bound to assume this character and also to sustain the existing Government against the attempt of portions of the People to supplant it by local Legislatures. In all this he could plead the explicit instructions of the Administration that had appointed him.

He went one step further. January 20, 1849, the Commanding General of the Pacific Division, General SMITH, wrote to the War Department, as follows:

"We call attention to the advertisement by Longley & Brother, of Cincinnati, of the Photographic Advocate, a semi-monthly magazine, published by them in that city.

BENNETT'S DAGUERREAN GALLERY.—N. S. Bennett has opened a new Daguerrean Gallery on Pennsylvania avenue. We are much pleased to wait intelligence of the closing of the session, and that, if nothing else, we have done in Washington, to put in motion the machinery of the law already existing here, and at the same time prepare it to the people of California to form a State Constitution, and present it at the next session of Congress, when their admission into the Union as a State would once solve so many difficulties; and while it removed a cause of disagreement at home, would give them an opportunity of legislating for themselves.

"Under the hope that some act of the last Congress had provided, or at least defined, the Government of California, we thought prudent to wait intelligence of the close of the session, and that, if nothing else, we have done in Washington, to put in motion the machinery of the law already existing here, and at the same time prepare it to the people of California to form a State Constitution, and present it at the next session of Congress, when their admission into the Union as a State would once solve so many difficulties; and while it removed a cause of disagreement at home, would give them an opportunity of legislating for themselves.

"The Water Cure Reptor, of Utica, New York, is an interesting journal. See advertisement.

"We call attention to the advertisement by Longley & Brother, of Cincinnati, of the Photographic Advocate, a semi-monthly magazine, published by them in that city.

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LITERARY NOTICES.

CHALMERS' INSTITUTE OF THEOLOGY. Vol. II. Published by Harper & Brothers. For sale by Frank Taylor, Washington, D. C.

This posthumous publication and reprint, after so many voluminous editions of Dr. Chalmers' writings, is a remarkable testimony to the excellence and power of the man—among the noblest of the generation that have passed. Of the present volume we have read with care his argument on Necessity and Predestination, which we consider to be far more valuable as a protest against the moral consequences that follow from the doctrine, and therefore an involuntary testimony in favor of free-will, than as an intellectual discourse. Only the most thorough sincerity of conviction in the man could make him commit himself to so loose and inconsistent reasoning, in trying to distinguish Necessity from Fatalism. The religious merit of the book we rate much before its logical merit. But to do justice, one should view it in connection with the whole system, of which it forms a part. *

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT SOUTHEY. No. I. Published and for sale as the above.

We are sorry that the biography of a literary man should be so voluminous, in this voluminous age, as to compel its republication in these crowded double columns of minion and brevier. Having once taken a vow against small type, except in extreme cases, we seriously fear we shall be deprived of the enjoyment of knowing so fruitful and various a life as that of Southey. We are sorry, too, to find this, and the volume previously noticed, distinguished by such vile mispellings as "mold," "theater," and "creature." We trust they are all misprints.

The beginning of this "Life" is a very entertaining, agreeable, and rather gossipy autobiography, in which we have noticed Southey's interesting account of his strong taste for dramatic romance at the age of seven. Sixteen letters (58 pages) bring the account down to his sixteenth year. The remainder is largely made up from his correspondence that it cannot fail to give a very full view of his habits of thought and the history of his mind. *

1. OBERLIN QUARTERLY REVIEW. October, 1849.
2. METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW. January, 1850. Pp. 178.

We have placed these two together, for contrast, rather than similitude. Each seems to be excellent in its way. The first is fresh, earnest, and practical throughout—a most hopeful feature in our Western religious literature. Even the ultimate remedy proposed for "modern infidelity" is not so much polemic as practical—namely, the active development of Christian doctrine in the line of social reform. When we say that the main articles on "Woman's rights and duties," "Religious organizations and Slavery," "Bible, war, and peace," "education of the Sensibility," and that all appear to proceed on the pure moral principle of the thing, and are progressive, not to say ultra, in their tone, we have given the best idea we can of the quality of the Review.

The "Methodist Quarterly" is, on the whole, we think, the most critical review that ever fell into our hands. Everything in it must pass a *bona fide* scrutiny, and there is not a single shuffling generalization, so far as we see, in its notice of a single book. If in this its great denomination is fairly represented, it has come to a very interesting period in its growth. Such indefatigable inquiry must lead to something, though as yet it is directed to men, and books, and single thoughts, rather than subjects of larger compass. The first article is a very scholarly one on Plutarch, "the Christian philosopher of Pagan antiquity." Another administers some well-earned rebuke to the singular ill-breeding of certain passages in Powell's "Living Authors of England." One goes somewhat (incidentally) into the question of free-agency; another reviews Dr. Hawke's "Egypt and its Monuments."

There are fifty-three short notices, several brief essays, and ten pages of religious and other intelligence. At two dollars a year, we have no doubt that this journal is cheaper than any other of the kind now issued. *

A UNIVERSAL PRONOUNCING GAZETTEER. By Thomas Baldwin, assisted by several others. Fifteen editions, with a Supplement. Pp. 635 & ss.

The claims of the title-page, of which we have copied only a small portion, seem to be abundantly sustained in the execution of the work. It is a very valuable book, to all appearance very carefully and thoroughly executed. A well written preface states its design and principles; a list of authorities begets confidence; and an elaborate introduction, of twenty pages, gives besides a full account with reasons for its plan, the rules of pronunciation for fourteen languages. We might, perhaps, take exception, on the score of familiar habit, to the author accepting the last in Alexandria and Philadelphia, as names of ancient cities: in the former case, particularly, it would be difficult to draw the line; for example, if one should speak of Amrus's burning of the library there. With this exception, we like the author's principle; though in application it requires the author's book, which we shall esteem and consult accordingly. It is unquestionably far more melodious and easy to give the native sounds to most of those ungainly names that daunt us in maps and newspapers. Our old acquaintance, Amiwoh, turns out to be quite gentle to the ear; and so with the author's instances of Szegedin, Ljusne, &c. The geographical information seems to be well gathered and compacted. The pronouncing system is easy as any. The poetical authorities it cites, the English mode of reading them, the number of words, the nature of the vowels, &c., are all clearly explained. A document of a kind entirely new here, and of a somewhat curious character, has, however, been lately given to the public, which throws some light on the strength of the various

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN CINCINNATI. To the Editor of the National Era:

Within a few days, some most interesting statistics have been published in our city papers, which show to some extent the comparative strength of the various religious bodies in this community. And, first,

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CINCINNATI.

Has been accustomed for some years to keep a register of the marriages, births, and deaths, in its communion, which is published annually. The official table for 1849 has just been published in the "Catholic Telegraph," which gives the numbers under the above heads in each of the churches. These are ten in number, including one small one in Fulton, and one in Covington. The totals for the year are—marriages, 1,154; baptisms, 3,069; deaths, 4,018. To show the progress of this church among us, it may be well to give the register for four years past, so far as relates to this city:

	In 1846.	In 1847.	In 1848.	In 1849.
Marriages	600	725	959	1,154
Baptisms	1,676	1,829	2,674	3,069
Deaths	904	1,041	1,433	4,018

Of the deaths for 1849, three-fifths may be traced to the account of the cholera, by which this church has suffered more in proportion than any of the Protestants, as the great body of the recent immigrants from Germany and Ireland, among whom it was most fatal, are Roman Catholics. The other two-fifths, say 1,610, would exhibit an increase corresponding with the former part of the table. These registers and other data lead to the opinion expressed by Mr. Cist, (the best authority in matters of this kind,) "that the Roman Catholics constitute thirty-five in every hundred of the entire population of Cincinnati and its adjuncts;" and that "this is the proportion they have borne here for the last two years." The example of this communion in keeping such records with advantage be followed by Protestant churches, but we know it is not done—at least, if at all, to a very limited extent. A document of a kind entirely new here, and of a somewhat curious character, has, however, been lately given to the public, which throws some light on the strength of the various

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1850.

Senate.

The only thing worthy of note in to-day's proceedings, beside the speech of General Cass, was the following resolution introduced by Mr. Webster:

Resolved, That provision ought to be made by law that every male citizen of the United States, and every male person who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen according to the provisions of law, of twenty-one years of age or upwards, shall be entitled to enter upon the public lands which are open to entry for the purpose of cultivation, the purchase of residence and civilization, and that such citizen shall have resided on the same land for three years, and cultivated or, if occupying in the mean time, the residence and cultivation shall be held and carried on by his widow or his heirs, or devisees, for the space of full three years from and after making entry of such land, and never alienate such land, nor create any title thereto in law or equity, by deed, transfer, lease, or any other conveyance except by devise by will.

Mr. Cist moved that the resolution be printed.

The resolution lies over under the rule, and the motion to print was laid over also.

Mr. Cass resumed and finished his remarks on the Territorial Question. [We present on our fourth page a synopsis of the speech.]

At the close of his speech, the resolution of Mr. Foote was laid upon the table, with the understanding that it could be called up at any time.

The bill making an appropriation for the repair and improvement of the dam at the head of the Ohio river, where master and slave were equally educated, would soon be a red Republic. The slave-master knows this, and accordingly puts education to the ban, and glories in keeping three million barbarians in the land, and of course suffers the necessary degradation which comes thereof? The four elements spoken of have reasonably fair justice done them as they are, but undergo somewhat of Mr. Parker's trenchant criticism, judging them by what they should be. The true honor of the teacher's profession is especially and amply vindicated. *

GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE, for February. Contains nine embellishments, among them *Palo Alto* which is pronounced an exquisite illustration of the first of a series of Ballads of the Mexican Campaign. The contributions are numerous, of various excellence, and adapted to many tastes.

THE KNICKERBOCKER, for February. Is just received, so that we have not yet had time to read it, as we always do. It presents not, however, a very attractive table of contents. It is published at New York, by Samuel Hueston, at \$5 per annum; or, five copies to one address, \$20.

STEAMBOAT DISASTERS IN THE WEST. An elaborate and well-prepared table was published in the St. Louis Republican last week, of the accidents which have occurred to steamboats on the Western waters during the past year. The name of each boat is given, the nature of the disaster which destroyed it in the place, date, and estimated time. The number of lives lost is eighteen. Total estimated loss, \$1,600,000. This, it is thought, does not include quite all these occurrences; but it cannot be much below the mark, as great care was taken to record all that came to knowledge through the newspapers. There is, also, appended a catalogue of those sunken, or injured, which were afterwards raised and repaired. These are twenty-eight in number. Most

of these disasters have occurred on the Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois rivers, and on the Ohio below the Falls. I notice but four or five as occurring between our city and Pittsburgh. Twenty of the number in the first table were burnt at St. Louis. This, it will be seen, is nearly one-fourth of the whole number. The St. Louis writer thinks that if every loss connected with Western steam-boats navigation could be known, including collisions, collapsing of boilers and funs, damaging of cargoes, &c., it would swell the amount to the enormous sum of \$200,000,000 or more; and that the accidents to flat and keel boats, and other vessels of water craft, might be set down at \$500,000 more.

These estimates I regard as exaggerated; but still it is evident that great losses are sustained to Western Commerce by the dangers of navigation—many of them, after making all suitable allowances for the carelessness of pilots and engineers unavoidable, as long as the obstructions which exist are not removed. The improvement of our Western River Navigation demands the attention of our Government; and if the present Congress and Cabinet do anything efficiently for us, they will deserve, for this at least, the thanks of the Western people. If left to individual or State enterprise, the work to be done, as part of our national policy, is to be done, as part of our Government taking the shape of improvements on our lakes and rivers, is truly a Democratic doctrine, however the whole day may disown it, or try to evade it.

THE HEALTH OF THE CITY.

is as good as usual at this season, with the exception of the Small Pox, which has been unusually prevalent for some months. The Trustees of the Township have had from forty to sixty patients constantly under their care, with this disease, for three months past. Owing to the difficulty of getting boarding, though well able to pay their expenses, the Board of Health are about erecting a commodious hospital for their reception. The board report the total expenditures during the prevalence of the Cholera and Small Pox, from June 5, 1849, to January 5, 1850, to have been \$9,371. Of this, \$3,700 were paid to physicians, and \$3,996 for the various expenses of the Cholera Hospital. Yours, F.

GOVERNOR FORD AND SLAVERY.

There is nothing fishy in the reference to Slavery in the Message of Governor Ford, of Ohio. After avowing the deepest attachment to the Union of the States, and asserting for each State the power of exclusive legislation over its own internal concerns, he proceeds:

"While all the rights of the slaveholding States, recognized by the Constitution, should be rigidly and in good faith maintained, it is equally the right and the desire of the free States to be exempted from all the evils and burdens which that institution imposes."

"Consequently, the General Government should be clear from all responsibility for the existence or maintenance of Slavery, or any traffic therein. The subject of the extension of Slavery into the new Territories is one of interest, and has for some time past agitated the whole country. The interest of the free States, yes, the general interest of the whole nation—the right of the slaves to the north, & the yet-to-be slaves of the south, & the rights of humanity and justice, all demand that these Territories, whether they remain as such, or be admitted as States into the Union, shall forever remain uncontaminated with the blight of slavery. That Congress has the power to prohibit slavery from being introduced into the Territories of the United States, where it does not now exist, there can be no rational doubt. I would therefore recommend the passage of resolutions, pressing upon our delegation in Congress the propriety and necessity of passing an ordinance forever excluding slavery from every foot of territory owned by the United States, before any portion thereof shall be organized and admitted as a State."

At the trial in November last, the result stood—Palfrey, 4,978; Thompson, 5,229; Robinson, 3,994.

To the Editor of the National Era.

Another trial took place last Monday, for the election of Member of Congress in the fourth district of this State, which ended, however, in the same unsatisfactory result that has characterized former attempts in this district. The votes stood as follows: Palfrey, 3,888; Thompson, 4,413; Robinson, 2,010.

To the Editor of the National Era.

The House passed a resolution authorizing the Clerk to supply each member with a copy of J. C. B. Sutherland's Congressional Manual, except those already supplied.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and Mr. Bayly of Virginia, as Chairman of the Committee for Ways and Means, made the usual motion for the reference of the President's Message to the appropriate Committees.

Mr. Clingman then obtained the floor, and delivered a speech of an hour's length on the subject of Slavery, denouncing the claims of the North, and attempting to show how the South would gain by a Dissolution. [See synopsis of speech on 4th page.]

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1850.

Senate.

Among the petitions presented to-day were the following by Mr. Chase:

One in favor of cheap postage, one asking for the adoption of measures for the settlement of all international difficulties in an amicable manner.

A memorial from the Green Plains Yearly Meeting, asking for the abolition of the army, the navy, West Point Military Academy and all fortifications; also one from the same body, asking an enactment to prohibit the sale of the public lands, except to actual settlers, in limited quantities.

Mr. Hunter of Virginia introduced a bill to the appropriate Committees to do away with the

Senate.

The Senate then took up the motion to print the Vermont resolutions, on which Mr. Phelps addressed the Senate at some length. As it was late, the motion was laid on the table, to allow Mr. Butler an opportunity to call up his bill relating to fugitives from labor, which was then made the special order for to-morrow.

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

THE MAIN POINTS OF MR. CASS'S SPEECH
UPON THE WILMOT PROVISO.
Delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the
21st and 22d of January, 1850.

There were two principal questions involved in the controversy upon the Wilmot Proviso: first, Is the measure constitutional? And, secondly, Is it expedient?

All those who have hitherto contended for the power of Congress to pass the Wilmot Proviso, have contended for a general and unlimited power of legislation over the Territories. The right to institute Governments over them, and the right to legislate over the internal concerns of the same, was used as convertible terms. This is a decided departure from the terms of freedom. It extends even to the judicial tribunals, and to the commentators on law. They argue, that the power of governing and legislating for a Territory, is the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire territory. They hold that Congress has plenary power and complete jurisdiction, without limitation, over the Territories.

It was this claim of unlimited legislation that led to our separation from England. And it is amazing, how boldly this claim has been urged in this Hall, as if the rights of sovereignty were ever so much more important than the power of legislation, without representation. We first denied in argument, and then resisted in arms. But the British statesmen had one advantage in their argument; they had no written Constitution to appeal to, but a Legislature, which, in the theory of their Government, was omnipotent. We have a written Constitution; and before the authority of Congress can be brought to bear upon any subject, the grant of power must be pointed out. The right to organize Governments over distant Territories, leaving to the people of those Territories to regulate their own concerns in their own way, is reconcilable with the principles of freedom. Limited legislation over them, cannot be justified under any circumstances, or recognized with the principles of human freedom. Though the Constitution has given to Congress the power of exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia, yet it is one of the terms of the national compact; and though it is a despotic power, because it is not accompanied by the right of representation, yet the despotism of the measure is somewhat tempered by circumstances resulting from residence, which can never exist between Congress and a remote colony.

The first principle in this controversy is, the inseparable connection between legislation and representation. No paramount necessity calls for its violation. The people of the Territories are surely competent to manage their own internal affairs. Experience tells us this truth, wherever the American People go. There is no necessity, then, for Congress to legislate for the Territories. Indeed, Congress has never yet, except in a few instances, which were really unconstitutional, legislated exclusively for them. There is not a Territorial Government which we shall be called upon to organize, out of our present Territories, in which the majority of the people will, and do, live and die, and whose great happiness and welfare are left by Congress to these people, there is no reason why all the other objects of internal legislation may not be safely committed to them. The late proceedings in California to organize a State Government are the best proofs of the capacity of the people to lay the foundations of their political institutions, wisely and justly. It is an indisputable argument against the necessity of restraining them by Congressional legislation. There is no Constitution in this Union in which the principles of rational and progressive liberty are better secured.

There is no clause in the Constitution which gives to Congress exclusive power to make laws respecting slaves in the Territories. Every construction which gives to a foreign legislature jurisdiction over this subject of slavery—that is, to a legislature not elected by the people to be affected by its acts—will give it also jurisdiction over the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, embracing within its sphere the whole circle of human rights, personal and political. If we have the power to abolish or exclude slavery, we have the power to institute it. If we possess any power over the subject, we possess complete jurisdiction over it. If there be any limitation upon the power in the Constitution, let it be known. But has Congress power at all over the subject? The clause of the Constitution most frequently quoted in support of this view is that which proves that,

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

If this grant conveys full legislative authority over this property, and over all persons living in the same region of country, making them the mere incident of property, certainly words were never more unhappy chosen.

The phrasology of the provision for the government of the Federal District, and of the places ceded "for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards, and other needful buildings," admits of no doubt that exclusive legislative power is intended to be given to them. They, therefore, who claim that the words "to regulate property" is the same as that conveyed by the words "to exercise exclusive legislation," are bound to show why the latter form of expression was used in preference to the former. No man has done this. Until it is done, the obstacle is insuperable.

Great confusion in the treatment of this subject has arisen from the application of the term "territory" to those political communities which are governed under the name of Territorial Governments, and considering it as so applied in the Constitution.

The term "territory," in the Constitution, means land, domain, and the appropriate political designation of this territory, when organized under Territorial Governments, appears to have been distinct, as is evident from the language used in the old laws, organizing the Governments of the Western Territory. What, then, is the true import of the constitutional power to make needful rules and regulations for the public property? It is, that Congress shall have power to dispose of, and protect the public property, when so situated, and to exercise any power that is "proper" to attain these objects. It is probably alone which is the subject of the grant; and its designation, and in connection with that, its use and preservation, are the objects. The phrase "territory or other property," makes territory one of the classes of property, and the word territory referred to the great Western Territory, at that time the great fund to relieve the finances of the infant Confederation. This clause conveys a necessary grant of power to the Government, as a landholder or holder of other property, to use and dispose of such property as it sees fit, now or hereafter.

The term "territory," as here used, is merely descriptive of one kind of property, and is equivalent to the word "lands"; and Congress has the same power over it as over any other property vested in the United States," &c.

If it be true that Congress has exclusive jurisdiction over the territory, &c., of the United States, it has power to dispose of, to sell, to cede that jurisdiction; and no one will pretend that when the General Government sells or cedes to a purchaser a portion of this territory, it sells to his jurisdiction over the portion purchased, whether that purchaser be an individual or a foreign State.

But there are those who, while they admit that the word "territory," in the clause of the Constitution, does not mean land alone, but includes also political jurisdiction, thus making American citizens a part of the national property to be disposed of at will. The author of this objection seems to have forgotten that the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of the United States against Gratiot and others, had come to the same conclusion. That Court in that case

said, "The term 'territory,' as here used, is merely descriptive of one kind of property, and is equivalent to the word 'lands'; and Congress has the same power over it as over any other property vested in the United States," &c.

Of the late Presidents of the United States (Mr. Adams) based this unlimited power upon a signature of the word "needful," which renders nugatory all the safeguards of the Constitution.

Needful, what? asks Mr. Adams. "To secure to the people of the United States, to the ends for which those ends are declared in its preamble, to establish justice?" for example. What can be more needful to the establishment of justice than the interdiction of slavery, where it does not exist?

By this reasoning, the grants of power in the Constitution are not to be sought in that instrument itself, where they are carefully enunciated, and all others as carefully prohibited, but in the preamble, which merely enounces the general motives of the people in the establishment of a new Government! The essays in the Federal never claimed such a construction of

the grants of power in the Constitution. But the Supreme Court lays down the true doctrine on this point, when it says—"That the preamble of the Constitution is to be referred to, to enlarge the powers confided to the Government or any of its departments."

An argument in support of the authority of Congress to legislate over the Territories is derived from the war and treaty making power, which brings with them, as an incident, the right of legislating over the country acquired. The effect of the war making power upon the right of acquisition is, under our Constitution, an inquiry purely speculative, so far as no territory has been added to the Union by that process. The right to conquer, however, is the right to annex, a fact which is equally true of the war, though it brings with it, as a consequence, annexing a foreign country to the United States, without the intervention of some department of Government constitutionally competent to indicate the national will on the subject. So the war-making power cannot be said to make the acquisition, or annexation, though it may afford the opportunity of being made. A treaty of peace, confirming the conquest and making the cession, carries the question to the treaty-making power. But the proposition, that acquisition necessarily brings with it the authority of legislation, is quite a different thing. Judge Marshall held the opinion, on one occasion, that "The right to go to war gives the irresistible consent of the right to acquire territory." Others, following in his steps, gave it as their opinion, that the right was inevitable. But what is meant by Judge Marshall's "inevitable consequence"? Is it a logical consequence deduced from the language of the Constitution, and does it make the power of government an integral part of the treaty-making power? Surely not; for the right to acquire is one thing, and the right to legislate another, and the act of acquisition is complete in itself. The treaty-making authority acquires territory by treaty. The power to dispose of, and the power to admit it into the Union, when formed into States, are both *expressly* given to Congress, if I may use the word, of course; and of course, if they are given, they could not be exercised. The power to legislate for it, if not given, is, it is clear, the power to exercise it. It is clear, the idea of legislation is not included in the idea of acquisition, nor connected with it, in that the one power cannot be exercised without the other. But, perhaps, this "inevitable consequence" may be a consequence resulting from moral necessity. Moral necessity for the assumption of power may be justified, but it can have no place in an inquiry into the true power of the Legislature, which enumerates the various objects of legislation, and then confers jurisdiction over them. The whole power is conveyed, with very few exceptions, and these are expressly withheld. The Territorial Legislatures have full authority over all the concerns of life, including the relation of master and servant, against which there is no prohibition, either express or implied, in the Constitution. Their rights over the subject of property, if I may use the word, are as complete as those of the people of the States. Let him who dares deprive the people of the Territories of their right over this subject, put his finger upon the reversion in our great charter.

But even if this power exists, to control the anti-slavery agitation operates seriously upon us by way of heavy losses in our property. The slaves are daily escaping to the North and, through their friends, are sold into slavery. Gentlemen may call this treason—high treason—the highest treason that the world ever saw. But their words are idle. We shall defend their movement against us. But if they think that can remove us, it is a proper cause for trial. In the present temper of the public mind, it is probable that a collision of the kind here might electrify the country, as did the Little skirmish at Lexington the colonies in their then excited state. Such a struggle, whoever might prove the victors in it, would not leave here a quiet to do business. Gentlemen may call this treason—high treason—the highest treason that the world ever saw. But their words are idle. We shall defend their movement against us. But if they think that can remove us, it is a proper cause for trial. 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